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Vol. XX, No. 11 March 16, 1963 Section I—News

GOP: *Sparks action for spending cuts*.....(201)
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The Hottest Issue: The Republicans not only have regained the offensive against the Administration, they have also—proof positive—drawn cries of pain from the Democratic leadership with well directed one-two punches.

In the GOP's most telling blow last week, Representative Frank Bow (Ohio) demanded the budget be cut $10 to $15 billion. Bow spoke as head of an economy task force, citing as his authority that it can be done none other than Maurice Stans, Ike's budget expert, who now serves as an adviser to this task force. Bow predicted that, unless such reductions are achieved, chances for a tax cut this year "will be almost nil."

Administration leaders reacted angrily, for they fear Stans, whose voice commands national respect. They also recognize that the $10-15 billion slash was no figure simply plucked from the air. Had not the Council of State Chambers of Commerce last week urged a $10-billion cut? Above all, the Democratic leaders grimly realize all members of both parties are under fire from home to cut expenditures in order to cut taxes.

The New York *Times* (March 4) had a name for it; spending, the *Times* said, is "the hottest issue" in Congress today. Shrewdly, Bow remarked that congressional mail indicates widespread public apprehension about Kennedy's spending plans. Observers interpret this as a pointed reminder to rank-and-file Democrats, who know the tenor of their mail, and also as a tocsin to urge constituents to shower Capitol Hill with demands to cut, cut, cut.

Congressman Bow's task force asked for cuts in defense and space appropriations, an effective answer to JFK's complaint that the economizers bear down hard on welfare spending but spare cuts on the military. The Defense Department—every congressman knows—is guilty of enormous waste. As for space programs, the Administration asked for a whopping $4-billion increase—blatantly ignoring the solemn advice of former President Eisenhower who recently stated, "I think that's too much money," and called for an annual appropriation of $1.5 to $2 billion.

But what really intensified the indignation of the Democratic leadership was Bow's frank *divide et impera* bid, his candid invitation on the floor of the House to rank-and-file Democrats to revolt against their leaders and join with the Republicans in slashing the fantastic Kennedy budget. Speaker John McCormack and his aides know their troops have heard from home.

Reuther's "Clean" Shop: The International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers Union met around the clock March 5 to consider a momentous question: What action should be taken against UAW senior vice president Richard T. Gosser, recently convicted of conspiracy to steal his own tax files from the Internal Revenue Service?

A jury of seven men and five women—whose foreman was an ex-UAW member—found Gosser guilty on February 8, in a federal district court in Toledo, Ohio. Three weeks later, District Court Judge Frank L. Kloeb (appointed by Franklin D. Roosevelt) sentenced Gosser to three years in federal prison.

Despite Gosser's unsavory background, including a previous conviction for armed robbery, the International Board—upon which UAW president Walter Reuther sits—refused to expel Gosser from the union. Although Judge Kloeb clearly stated, "I don't know when I have seen evidence so conclusive as was found in this case," the board, while relieving Gosser of his salary pending an appeal, still allowed him to keep his title of senior vice president of the UAW.

The action taken by the board was conspicuously less severe than the decisive action Reuther has demanded other unions take against union officials convicted and sentenced by federal courts. Gosser, moreover, still remains the "unchallenged boss" of Local 12, in Toledo, Ohio, according to Toledo newspapers.

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The decision by the Reuther board called to mind in Washington some stinging words of pro-Reuther labor columnist Jack Herling. Long a devoted supporter of the UAW, Herling remarked in a recent column concerning the Gosser case: "Mr. Reuther actively and urgently demands in the councils of the AFL-CIO the removal of any and all officials in other unions whose conduct gives the rest of the union movement a bad name. . . . Yet, when bad news of this sort hits the United Auto Workers, Mr. Reuther seems to stop short of ultimate action."

Rocky Recedes: "He's a nice fellow, but he can't get elected President" is a tag applied increasingly to the Governor of the Empire State. A similar opinion of Senator Robert A. Taft proved a barrier to his hopes for winning the GOP nomination in 1952.

The reasons Nelson Rockefeller now looks as if he would prove an also-ran in November, 1964, are various. But one stands out: His support in his own 43-electoral-vote state is considered so shaky as to warrant serious doubts about his ability to win the Presidency. This situation—often described in *Human Events* and recently explored in a widely-read piece in the *Wall Street Journal*—is attracting close attention and study among pros of the GOP; this was reported in Washington papers when the Republican state chairmen held a pow-wow in the Capital last week.

Some of these pros still aren't buying the verdict, clinging to belief Rocky can keep New York behind him, but they are acutely aware he has a problem in converting the grass roots to the "new image" of Nelson as a conservative. However, signs and portents from west and south of the Hudson suggest that he will encounter more resistance than his well-wishers had counted on.

Thus, a poll conducted among Texas GOP county chairmen by the Dallas *Times Herald* (March 3) concludes that Texas Republicans "not only overwhelmingly prefer Senator Barry Goldwater for the 1964 Presidential nomination but many are openly hostile to New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller." Goldwater in the poll was the choice of 91.2 per cent, Rockefeller the choice of only 6.5 per cent. A number of those polled compared him to Kennedy; some frankly said they would rather vote for Kennedy than Rockefeller.

Some rather heated opposition to Rockefeller has come to the surface in the strongly conservative Republican state of Nebraska. In that state, currently, a group comprising various conservative organizations has announced a boycott against a banquet to be held next month at which Rocky has been scheduled to speak. The affair has been planned as a testimonial dinner for US Senator Roman Hruska, conservative Republican, who is up for re-election in '64.

Temple McFayden, Omaha businessman and spokesman for the Nebraska Council for Conservative Action, said the move to bring Rockefeller to Nebraska to speak at the dinner "is an implied indorsement" of Rocky as a candidate for the GOP Presidential nomination, and "a slap at Nebraska's conservative hopes for 1964." McFayden does not blame Senator Hruska for "this blunder," but it's clear that the Senator—who says no endorsement is implied—is not too happy about the incident. Yet, obviously Rocky can't be pleased with this sort of welcome to the Cornhusker State, although he should not be surprised.

The Eastern press and the pundits on political affairs for many months chose to ignore the lesson of the 1962 election in Nebraska. Ike's Secretary of the Interior, Fred Seaton, a "modern" Republican known as friendly to Governor Rockefeller's Presidential hopes, was soundly thrashed last year when he ran for governor, although most of the Republican ticket was elected handsomely.

Mona Lisa from Arizona: "This vacuum can't go on much longer. Something will happen, events abroad or at home will do something to force a decision from Barry. It's bound to happen." So said some Republican professionals attending last week's GOP conference in Washington (as reported by the Washington *Evening Star*, March 2).

Out of such discussion among pros from the grass roots and veterans in the GOP congressional cloakrooms arises a feeling—frequently expressed—that Barry actually is playing it very smart: "Smart, and coy." Conservatives from the grass roots, who are not pros, feel frustrated by the Arizonan's refusal to make an open bid for the nomination. But some GOP members of Congress—perhaps even a majority—who sit on the sidelines here and "hash things over" daily, offer an argument which is winning converts.

He's smart, they say, because he realizes he can't get enough money to organize and beat Rocky's millions in an open fight for the nomination. Theoretically that's possible, but practically that would result in a bitter battle that might fatally split the party. The pros are convinced that party unity is essential if JFK is to be defeated. By avoiding battle, Barry will gain prestige among the pros, particularly since Rocky no longer looks like a sure-fire winner.

Of course, this developing situation depends for its continuance on two tides of sentiment: (1) Rocky, infirm in New York, is also unacceptable to the rest of the country. Pros in House cloakrooms think this will go on, barring unforeseen events. (2) Goldwater is the only available, politically practicable candidate representing conserv-

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atives. "Draft Goldwater" movements in various localities show signs of multiplying. If these continue to increase, the "Mona Lisa from Arizona may find it very difficult to resist a genuine draft movement.

Then, so the argument runs, will come "the moment of truth." By that time, Rocky's descent and Barry's rise will cross, and it will be Rocky who will be on the spot in the eyes of the men who insist on "party harmony," "no split"—the men who will control the nomination. At that point, many pros will believe Rocky will be obliged to "take himself out" in favor of Barry.

The thesis appears somewhat incredible at this stage of the game. Nevertheless, when explained by pros to pros in the cloakrooms, it is a fact that it is gaining adherents. Perhaps that is why the "Mona Lisa from Arizona" continues to repudiate "draft Goldwater" movements while not irrevocably locking the door. Be that as it may, one hard fact emerges: There survives little talk of a Rocky-Barry ticket; that's one thing that gets no enigmatic smile.

California: It's not Birchism but "Max Rafferty-ism," according to political experts, that really worries the Democrats in the Golden State. While the Democrats have held control for five years in California, the state-wide election of conservative-minded Max Rafferty as State Superintendent of Public Instruction has sent a shudder down the backs of party stalwarts who fear this is an omen.

The fear caused by Rafferty's election last fall explains the concerted campaign by Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown and the Democratic leader of the State Assembly, Jesse Unruh, to hamstring Rafferty and eventually to make his office appointive, rather than elective. It also explains Governor Brown's announcement he is going to reappoint a leading anti-Rafferty figure, ultra-liberal Thomas W. Braden, as head of the State Board of Education.

The grass roots has registered severe disapproval of Braden's selection since he actively opposed Rafferty during last fall's election. Braden has been quoted as saying: If Dr. Rafferty "comes up with all this stuff about indoctrinating school children in patriotism and the dangers of communism, he's going to incur opposition from us [the State Board]."

While Brown has stressed that criticism of Braden comes solely from "right-wing extremists," he has only succeeded in driving the Republican party together in its opposition to the reappointment. Even "moderate" Republican Caspar Weinberger, State GOP Central Committee chairman, has joined the campaign to get rid of Braden.

Many Democrats, moreover, aren't going along with the Brown-Unruh campaign against Rafferty. The Democratic President Pro Tempore of the Senate, Hugh M. Burns (Fresno), has expressed skepticism of Braden and says there is "some doubt" the Senate will confirm him. Such a rejection would amount to a terrific slap at the Governor since it would be almost unique in recent California history.

Building Up Castro: The American taxpayers' 40 per cent contribution to the United Nations Special Fund will be used in the future to bolster the military might of that Soviet fortress just 90 miles off the coast of Florida. This startling fact was revealed last week by Representative Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.). The Fund's support for this purpose, moreover, will be in addition to the $1.3 million it plans to pump into Cuba to boost Castro's sagging agricultural production.

According to Hall, the Fund, in conjunction with the UN's International Civil Aviation Organization, has more than $17,000 in the pipeline to train Cuban pilots and aircraft mechanics at the ICAO's Mexico City Training Center. This school is financially supported by the Fund, which is under the direction of "modern" Republican Paul G. Hoffman.

Hall, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, contends that the Piper Apache, Cessna and Hiller aircraft used by the center for training purposes have high military value. They are "light aircraft," says Hall, "that can be used for battlefield transport, for observation and for artillery-fire direction, as our advisers in South Vietnam have so well proved." The DC-3, which is also used in training by the school, has "done dozens of military jobs," says Hall, including "cargo and troop transport operations."

The two-term Missouri Congressman further revealed that four sub-organizations of the UN also had plans to aid Cuba. "In programs scheduled in the 1961-64 period, Cuba has continued to receive aid," says Hall, "and currently some $445,880 is being spent by the UN in its efforts of technical assistance designed to strengthen Cuba."

Youth Corps under Fire: S. 1—the youth employment corps bill—unveiled a fortnight ago and hailed as the most impressive publicity stunt in many years, is undergoing severe criticism and

The Reverend Alwin E. Gall, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Aberdeen, Idaho: "I like *Human Events* for its courageous presentation of current political-economic matters in and out of government. It is a real service to the Nation."

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faces rising opposition. Indeed, even on the opening days of hearings, four of the five cabinet officers deployed to start it off with an unprecedented boost retreated, after conceding many defects in the "great design" to emulate the famous Civilian Conservation Corps of the Thirties.

As Senators began to poke questions, it emerged that it would cost at least $4,000 per youth in a work camp as compared with an estimated cost of $2,700 for supporting a student at Harvard. Some sponsors also admitted the plan might well lead to political indoctrination of the young members. Other critics recalled that those enrolled in the CCC thirty years ago picked up a stigma: Potential employers of graduates deemed them unemployable still and many of the boys became disillusioned.

Senator Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) assailed the bill as just "another step in the direction of centralizing power in the present plethora of bureaus already existing in Washington." Senator Winston L. Prouty (R.-Vt.) said he found it hard to believe "six months in the woods would prepare young people" for gainful urban employment. Greater emphasis on vocational education, said the Vermonter, would attack the cause of youth unemployment rather than the effects of the problem.

An illuminating report by the Senate Republican Policy Committee damns the Administration bill as a stunt, saying it's "a new form of burying our heads in the sand" because it offers "no real training" for the boys in the youth camps, no useful vocational training. The report points to such a training project in Milwaukee that cut a school drop-out rate to 5.5 per cent compared to a national average of more than 30 per cent.

Domestic Peace Corps: Efforts by federal employes to drum up support for the proposed "Domestic Peace Corps" drew charges last week from Representative Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) that the White House is engaging in illegal lobbying activity.

Speaking before a National Students Association conference on the "Domestic Peace Corps" (not to be confused with the Youth Employment Corps mentioned above) at which federal employes propagandized for the project, Findley said: "Even an educational mission by federal employes on behalf of proposed legislation violates the spirit if not the letter of the law barring the use of appropriated funds for lobbying."

As Findley pointed out, the American people may get a "Domestic Peace Corps" even if they don't want one. "Despite the fact that no hearings on the Corps have begun in Congress, no officially-blessed version has even been introduced and the Corps is not even in legislative language, I am informed that 20 federal employes, paid for by appropriated funds, have been loaned from other offices to get the 'Domestic Peace Corps' going."

"They even answer the phone by saying 'Domestic Peace Corps,' " Findley added.

His charges were confirmed by Richard Boone and Harry Kranz, members of the Corps staff, who said that "funds and personnel were loaned" by various executive departments.

The fledgling Corps has been set up in the Justice Department under the wing of the country's chief law enforcement officer, Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

Commented Findley: "If the highest officers in the land will thumb their noses at anti-lobbying laws, how can we expect respect for the law in other quarters? Ironically, one of the avowed purposes of the 'Domestic Peace Corps' is to reduce law violations."

Capitol Camera: In Democratic cloakrooms, it is rumored that JFK will ask for a bill to confer on General Douglas MacArthur the title of "General of the Armies"; Congress voted this to General John J. Pershing following World War I.

• *The Army's intelligence chief, Major General Alva R. Fitch, testified before the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee last week that there has been a "substantial increase both in quantity and quality of heavy military equipment in Cuba in the last year." Modern tanks, artillery mortars and Frog missiles capable of firing nuclear warheads, he said, have poured into Cuba. Moreover, he claimed that aerial photography has revealed new roads leading to Cuban caves. "It is considered highly probable that much military equipment and supplies are being stored underground," said Fitch. While doubting that Soviet strategic missiles have been placed in these caves, he did admit that Cuban refugees "continue to report that strategic missiles" are located there and that information indicates the caves are manned solely by Soviet personnel.*

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks $1. Yearly rate $12.50; 6 months $6.50; 3 months $3.50. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

Bound Volumes indexed: Second six months, 1962, $15. First six months, 1962, $15. Second six months 1961, $15. First six months, 1961; $15. 1960 and 1956 Bound Volumes, $20. Dateline Washington: The Best of HUMAN EVENTS, 1955—1961, $15.

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Freedom is a God-given, eternal principle vouchsafed to us under the Constitution. It must be continually guarded as something more precious than life itself. — *Ezra Taft Benson*

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Volume XX, No. 11—Section II

March 16, 1963

Labor Violence Must Be Halted

By VICTOR RIESEL

It's not only the billion dollar strike which irritates the public into shouting for more laws. There's lots of violence in the field. And once you get away from the Potomac, there's lots of public, too, which simply can't comprehend why there is so much blandness in some national labor circles over shootings, slashing of tires, planting of nails on roadways, rubber truncheoning of opponents, beatings, breaking of arms and some really major assaults too numerous to list here.

RIESEL

National Labor Relations Board records are larded with "cease and desist" orders against local unionists who believe they are the law. The time has come for these to be reported. It may embarrass some national labor chiefs. But better a red face in Washington than a broken head in the field.

Typical of these instances is violence I heard of the last time I was in the Midwest. It involves a Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers local barony.

I checked it out in Washington and Missouri. It must be reported in the hope that less blood will flow.

This story begins with the winning of a contract by an Arkansas construction man, Owen Langston, calling for the clearing of a right-of-way in Missouri for a powerline. This was needed by the Missouri-Arkansas Power Cooperative. The contractor hired two crews, one in Arkansas, another from the neighborhood of Ellington, Missouri. This is between St. Louis and Springfield.

Most of the Missouri crew joined the Hod Carriers Local 916. The Arkansas band did not, or had not gotten around to considering it.

Then one morning last May the Arkansas men hopped a truck and were driven out to a spot along Highway 21. Soon they were surrounded by a gang of men numbering upward of thirty. Some of the crowd carried three-foot lengths of green rubber hose. Others had guns stashed in their clothing.

The Arkansas crew was still on the truck when these men surrounded them. The crew was headed by its foreman. Also with them was Lester Utley, the job engineer. As the foreman walked to the rear of the truck t get his men out to work, a large man in the surounding group shouted to the Arkansas crew. He told all those who wanted to side with the union to come join the men on the ground.

The foreman then looked at his watch. He said, time to go to work. He told the union they could talk to the crew later, after working hours. He did not advise his men not to join the union, or to join. He wanted to get the job under way.

Then, according to a National Labor Relations Board official who investigated the case, another man asked, "Where is the engineer?" Utley said he was the engineer. The man who had asked for him shouted, "I want that son of a . . . . "

Here now is the running account of the federal investigator:

The man who had asked for the engineer leaped at him. At the same instant another fellow standing near the truck took out a gun, aimed it toward the truck and fired. Utley naturally looked towards the gun. Suddenly he was struck in the face. He was knocked down. Several men then kicked and stomped him. He lost consciousness. Then another man pulled a gun and threatened to shoot Langston, the contractor, who was also there. Langston went for the nearby woods to escape.

Then one of the Arkansas crew was hit on the head by a rock. He soon was unconscious. When he came to, he was taken off the truck. Someone held both his arms. He was punched in the jaw.

Meanwhile a man identified in the federal investigation as the union picket was observed "with an armful of rocks." Another Arkansas crewman left the truck. He was struck, even as he cried out, "You have done enough damage, you have already broken my arm."

When engineer Utley regained consciousness, he was told to get the truck off the right of way or it would be burned.

Well, you get the general idea. There was a park nearby. But this was no picnic even for strong men.

After a long probe, the National Labor Relations Board man ruled flatly that the union was responsible. Amongst other things, he ruled that the union must pay the medical expenses of the injured men.

For every such case there are ten others. Across the country some local baronies, unseen by their national leaders in Washington, have developed a rather gory brand of unionism. It is their right to strike or picket. But taking the law into one's bloody hands is no one's right. One of these days the public will make certain of that.

(Distributed 1963 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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JFK's View of the Press

Free and Responsible—to Government

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Denouncing the Kennedy Administration's concept of "managed news" as "a part of weaponry," the executive committee of the Inter-American Press Association says this doctrine imperils the "very foundations of a free and responsible press."

We had heard that phrase, "a free and responsible press," before. And then it came to us: This was the title of the report of a group, privately financed, which in 1947 conferred upon itself the title of "the commission on a free and responsible press." Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, at that time chancellor of the University of Chicago, was chairman, and there wasn't a newspaper man in the lot.

HUTCHINS

The report proceeded on the assumption that the aspirations and objectives of the particular collection of politicians constituting the national government of the moment were synonymous with the "public interest." There happened to be Mr. Truman's Fair Deal in Washington at the time, and a considerable segment of the press was not very sympathetic to its ideas, just as a considerable segment of the press is not too sympathetic toward Mr. Kennedy's dogmas at present.

As Mr. Hutchins and his associated "commissioners" saw it, the task in these circumstances was to render the press "accountable." To whom or to what it was to be accountable was not specifically stated, but the implication was to authority speaking for "the people," which was to say, to government.

If this thesis had, in fact, been written into law, the press would have had to follow the election returns, even when the President in office at a given moment happened to be, like Mr. Truman after 1948 and like Mr. Kennedy now, minority Presidents who received less than 50 per cent of the popular vote.

"No democracy, however, certainly not the American democracy," said the Hutchins commission, "will indefinitely tolerate concentrations of private power irresponsible and strong enough to thwart the aspirations of the people. Eventually, governmental power will be used to break private power, or governmental power will be used to regulate private power—if private power is at once great and irresponsible. . . . If they are irresponsible, not even the First Amendment will protect their freedom from governmental control."

Now, some years later, we are told by a competent professional organization that it is not the press which fails to achieve its goal of being free and responsible, but that it is the government which prevents the press from being free and responsible. The same government, mind you, which Mr. Hutchins and his friends thought was impressed with the duty of making the press, through the exercise of brute power, live up to the canons of freedom and responsibility.

And it is not any private power that thwarts the aspirations of the people to know fully what their own servants in government are doing. It is the vast, irresponsible and unaccountable concentration of power known as government.

There is a nice irony here for those who care to notice it. The authoritarians are the reverse of those nominated by the Hutchins commission. And, if the press were not harassed enough by government, it can also count upon those other irresponsible and unregulated concentrations of power, the unions, which have closed down the newspapers of Cleveland for 73 days and those of New York for 65 days.

As James Reston of the New York *Times* has asked, "What is 'free' about a press that can be muzzled on the whim of a single citizen?"

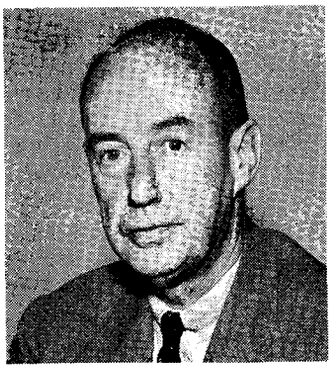
Maybe Mr. Hutchins had better reconvene his panel and start looking in a few different directions for culprits.

Patriotism Isn't Wrong

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Adlai Stevenson has made a most peculiar critical attack upon France's President Charles de Gaulle.

Mr. Stevenson has attacked President de Gaulle for being patriotic, for putting the interests of his country, as he sees them, first. Specifically, Mr. Stevenson has attacked de Gaulle for not giving in to internationalism and making what Mr. Stevenson calls a "retreat to older ideas of national supremacy and grandeur."



STEVENSON

While President de Gaulle's actions may not suit us, he undoubtedly feels with utmost sincerity that they suit the interests of France—and that is where his primary responsibility lies.

Is it wrong for a man to put the interests of his country first? Mr. Stevenson evidently thinks it is. And maybe that is one of the big reasons Stevenson-style policy in the UN and his influence elsewhere has seen the American position deteriorate in so many distressing instances.

President de Gaulle is indeed seeking to regain national supremacy for France and is seeking to hold a dominant position for France on the European continent. He has a right and an obligation to do the best for France that he can.

And if all the leaders of the United States put the interests of this country and the American people first, our Nation would be better off—and also the cause of freedom and the security of our allies would be improved.

This is a day when international compromise seeks to water down legitimate interests of nations and seeks to pervert the responsibilities of national leaders to their people. The mess that has resulted hardly recommends the system.

If Americans do not look out for America, they may be sure no one else will. If Americans should look out for America first, they will find that the parallel interests of free people everywhere also will be strengthened.

While we may disagree with de Gaulle, we do not attack him for dedication to his country; we only wish there were more such dedication among American leaders today.

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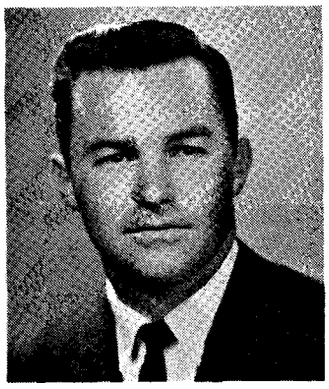
New GOP Southern Victories

New evidence supporting Senator Barry Goldwater's contention that the GOP should look to the South in 1964 piled up last month as two "Goldwater Republicans" won seats in the Mississippi and Georgia state legislatures.

In Mississippi, L. L. (Mac) McAllister, 30-year old chairman of the state Young Republicans, became the first Republican in history to win election to the Mississippi House of Representatives.

Waging an anti-New Frontier campaign, McAllister led a five-man field by 1,400 votes in an earlier election and in a run-off two weeks ago soundly defeated a single opponent to represent the city of Meridian (population 67,119) and Lauderdale County.

Magnolia State observors view McAllister's history-making win as a boost to Goldwater-supporter Rubell Phillips, GOP candidate for governor in next fall's elections.



McALLISTER

TRIBBLE

In Savannah, Georgia, Joe Tribble, a former Democrat newly-converted to the GOP, outpolled his nearest Democratic opponent by 6,000 votes to become the Peach State's third Republican state senator. His two colleagues, Dan I. McIntyre of Atlanta and A. Perry Gordy of Columbus, were both elected last fall as the first Republicans to sit in the State Senate since Reconstruction days.

Noncompetitive US Steel Wages

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Anyone wondering why so much foreign-made steel comes into the United States needs only to compare the wages of steel workers in the countries concerned. Here a steel processor pays $3.99 an hour for the average steel worker—$3.50 in wage and the rest in fringe benefits. That $3.99 compares with 63 cents in Japan.

Even the most highly paid steel worker in continental Europe, in Luxembourg, received only $1.47 an hour—a little less than half the $3.99 paid here. Comparable figures are $1.04 for Italy, $1.11 for France, $1.26 for Belgium, $1.37 for West Germany and $1.40 for The Netherlands. Even a jobless steel worker here receives more in unemployment benefits than any European or Asiatic steel worker receives in wages for working full time.

It would be unthinkable to lower the American worker, wage-wise, to the level of his colleague in Japan. But right now they're talking about another strike this year —and what do the union chiefs propose to do about this competition?

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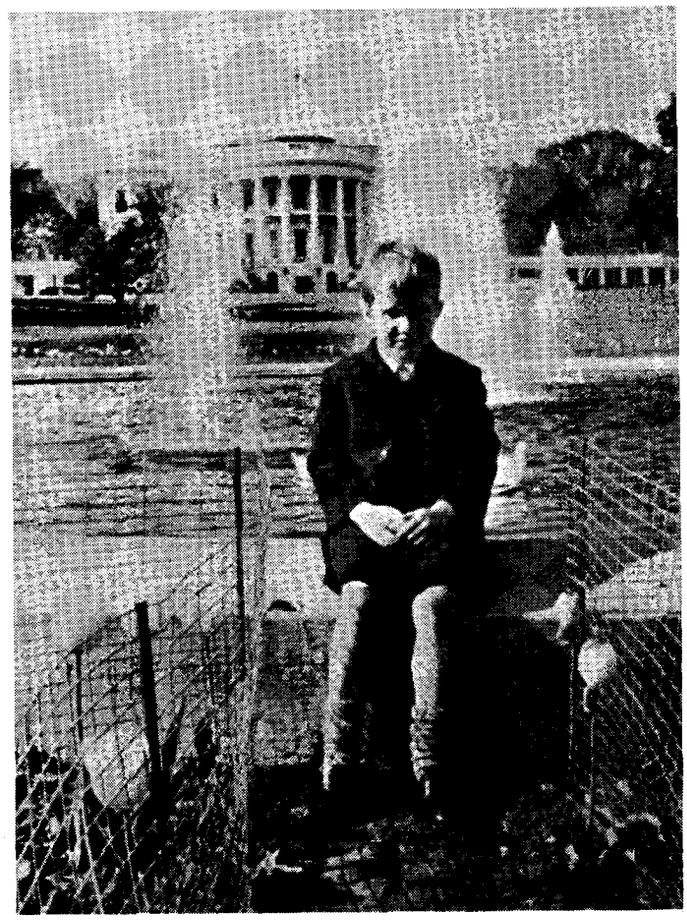
Another Kennedy?

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*



A lot of jokes have been made about the "Kennedy Dynasty," with John F. as President, Bobby as Attorney General and now Teddy as Senator. Sometimes the jokes are a little on the serious side.

A reader has sent us a picture in which the President himself adds to the idea of a Kennedy Dynasty.

The picture shows six-year-old David Kennedy, one of Bobby's children, sitting alongside the duck pens next to the pool on the South Lawn of the White House.

The margin of the picture bears this inscription, handwritten by President Kennedy:

"A future President inspects his property."

Is this an announcement of candidacy for President for David Kennedy—after Jack, Bobby and Teddy get through?

House Roll Call Nays on HUAC

The House of Representatives provided $360,000—the largest amount ever approved—for the expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities for 1963 in a roll-call vote on February 27. While 385 members voted for the appropriation, 20 lawmakers—all hard-core liberal Democrats—voted nay:

California
George E. Brown, Jr.
W. Donlon Edwards
James Roosevelt
Edward R. Roybal

Hawaii
Thomas P. Gill

Illinois
Barratt O'Hara

Michigan
Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
John D. Dingell

Mich. (cont.)
Lucien N. Nedzi
Neil Staebler

Minnesota
Donald M. Fraser

New York
Leonard Farbstein
Abraham J. Multer
Benjamin Rosenthal
William F. Ryan

Ohio
Thomas L. Ashley

Oregon
Robert Duncan
Edith Green

Texas
Henry Gonzalez

Wisconsin
R. Kastenmeier

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Turkey, Cuba and JFK

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

President Kennedy's Cuban doings helped explode President de Gaulle's final fury. The fuse that lit the blowup was Turkey.

When Mr. Kennedy acted about Cuba on October 22, French Army Intelligence sources insisted to me that Khrushchev's response was part of a deal, a swap —still vehemently denied at the White House—in which Mr. Kennedy agreed to pull our missiles out of Turkey. Today they say, "I told you so."

TAYLOR

They are appalled by the present White House explanation that the Jupiter missiles are "obsolete," that Polaris subs will replace them (in 1967) and by the contention that the timing of the missile withdrawal is "pure coincidence." "How coincidental can you get?" asks one who called this turn three months ago.

They told me then that President de Gaulle knew about this secret Kennedy-Khrushchev deal through a leak in NATO. Ankara cabinet discussion in October immediately reached President de Gaulle. The report contradicted what the Turks were required to say publicly and Washington's manipulated news. Then came the *Saturday Evening Post* article crucifying United Nations Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson for broaching the same idea, claiming Mr. Stevenson had proposed a "Munich," as if the deal were unthinkable.

President de Gaulle asked for and received Mr. Kennedy's denial of the deal through Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen. But President de Gaulle's knowledge of it was confirmed in January when we did haul the missiles out of Turkey.

Would you like to know the names of the Soviet generals commanding the Kremlin lodgement 90 miles from our shores? Impeccable Cuban underground observers can tell you. There are five: General C. O. Blanzenko, chief of all Soviet (including naval) forces; General Pavel B. Dankevich, commanding Russia's strategic missiles; Lieutenant General S. Ushakov, commanding the anti-aircraft units; Major General Peter M. Bendonasko, commanding the mechanized brigades; and Colonel General I. Gussev, chief of staff of the Air Force.

General Blanzenko, a giant with stony, bright eyes that shine like polestars, operates from Remedios, 190 miles east of Havana near the Soviet submarine port of Caibarien, facing Florida. This headquarters also controls Colonel Gussev's Air Force, tactical and strategic alike.

Ninety-two heavy Russian tanks were concentrated at Remedios alone as of February 4. Subterranean construction continues around the clock there as elsewhere. General Blanzenko requisitioned additional camouflage cloth for Remedios as late as that day. The measurements of the pieces are interesting: "144 sq. ft., 185 sq. ft.," etc..

His infantry comprises 8,000 elite combat troops and 2,700 engineering and construction soldiers, plus 990 officers instructing Castro militia and 180 assigned to Cuban military academies.

General Dankevich's strategic missiles group consists of 2,100 officers and men trained in long-range atomic missile firing.

General Ushakov likewise commands 1,830 radar specialists on land and aboard picket ships. These are Soviet trawlers seen daily by the US Navy.

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Khrushchev Charts A Course

From the Indianapolis *Star*

The new cult of Kremlinologists in this country, beset by a fixation that compels them to picture Khrushchev on the defensive, has interpreted his recent Berlin speech in terms of what they call a split between the Soviet Union and Red China.

We interpret it as a blueprint for a continuing attack on the free world. What Khrushchev said makes a great deal more sense in this light. He said he will live to see communism triumphant. He said the triumph can be achieved only by avoiding a head-on war with the United States. He noted that this country has 40,000 nuclear warheads (his spies are still at work) and that it would be folly to challenge this strength directly.

Then he cited Cuba as an example of the way in which communism will win. He had a point there. He had backtracked to avoid a head-on clash over Cuba, but by doing so he protected tremendous gains. Soviet troops are in Cuba. Soviet arms, short of nuclear missiles, are there. Communism is far ahead of what it was a year ago in Cuba. This is what Khrushchev was saying.

He was telling Communists throughout the world what Lenin first told them years ago. It is orthodox Communist procedure to take one step back if you have taken two steps forward. Khrushchev took a step back in Cuba—a sensational step, it is true—but it left him still one step forward.

He took a step forward when he built the Berlin wall, and he has not taken a step back there yet. So he is ahead there. A troika government in Laos was his step ahead in Southeast Asia. His pal, Sukarno, took over West New Guinea, which was another half step ahead in that part of the world.

Against this, Khrushchev has taken nuclear missiles out of Cuba, one step backward, and withdrawn a dead-line on a Berlin settlement, which was a psychological if not an actual step backward. Also he has engaged in a dispute over dogma with Red China's Mao Tse-tung, the question being whether it is better to destroy the free world piecemeal or all at once.

In view of this record, we believe Khrushchev was saying in his Berlin talk that he has measured Mr. Kennedy and found him ready to fight only when directly challenged. We believe this is correct. Khrushchev says further that communism cannot win in an all-out fight. Again, he's right. So, he says, Communists must outsmart the free world. He says they have been doing it and will continue to do it.

Right again, so far!

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Section Three
March 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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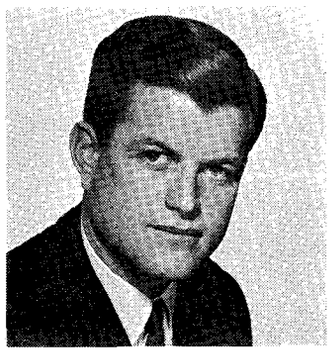
After the Election Campaigns

Many Demos Do Not Report Expenses

By FULTON LEWIS, JR.

How-to-succeed-in-business-without-really-trying-department:

Multi-millionaire Ted Kennedy has filed a sworn statement that he did not spend a single penny in his campaign for brother Jack's old Senate seat.



KENNEDY

In a report filed with the Secretary of the Senate, as required by law, Teddy says that he received no contributions and made no expenditures during his year-long Senate campaign. Nor does he have any knowledge of funds spent in his behalf by others.

Massachusetts observers put the cost of Kennedy's campaign at more than half a million dollars. For instance, H. Stuart Hughes, the self-styled "peace candidate" who opposed him as an independent, acknowledged spending more than $159,000.

In filing his report, Kennedy satisfied one provision of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, which requires "every candidate to file within 30 days after the date an election is to be held" a record of campaign finances. In that report, the candidate must supply "a correct and itemized account of each contribution received by him or by any person for him with his knowledge and consent . . . together with the name of the person who has made such contribution." He must, too, list all campaign expenditures.

Kennedy claims that he personally received no contributions. All funds, he says, were received—and spent—by the Edward M. Kennedy Campaign Committee. He claims no knowledge of where campaign funds came from, or where they went.

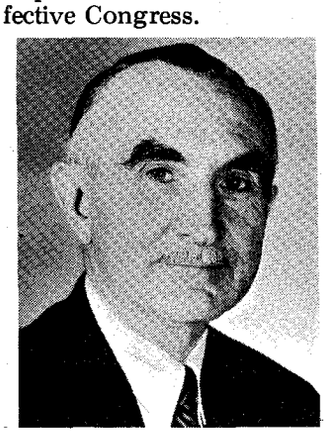
NELSON

LONG

The Kennedy report is no more misleading than those filed by several other Senate Democrats. Wisconsin's Gaylord Nelson, who defeated Republican Alex Wiley, swore that he received only $816 for his race, and spent nothing. Nelson did not list substantial gifts from four unions: the Communications Workers of America, the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League, Railway Labor's Political League and the United Steel Workers. Nor did he report king-sized contributions from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Missouri Senator Edward Long reported that he spent only $180 in his re-election campaign. He did not bother to report contributions from the United Steel Workers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League.

The volatile Wayne Morse, Oregon's gift to Washington, reported receipts of $62,141. He did not, however, list gifts from the United Steel Workers, the Trainmen's Political Education League, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the American Federation of Musicians, the International Union of Electrical Workers, the Building and Construction Trades Department and the National Committee for an Effective Congress.



MORSE

RIBICOFF

Morse reported campaign expenditures of only $15,384 for printing, meals and travel. He made no mention of funds spent for newspaper ads, radio or TV time. One Oregon expert estimates that Morse spent $100,000 for air time in the closing days of his campaign.

Connecticut Senator Abe Ribicoff, elected last November, reported total expenditures of $6,701—for campaign buttons, bumper strips and one political ad (the Holy Trinity Church Bulletin).

Ribicoff's advertising budget actually ran into tens of thousands of dollars, but was not reported. Neither were most of his contributions. (He claims to have received only $6,701.)

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WHOSE JUDGMENT?—"In the President's language 'Tax reform . . . will stimulate growth and steer income or investment into areas which better serve the national purpose.' By whose judgment, I now ask? I believe individuals are entitled to what they earn, not to have federal planners take it in taxes and replan individual lives in a society conforming to the planners' ideas and concepts of what's best for people."
—Representative Bruce Alger (R.-Texas)

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We're Getting It Ready Now . . .

The 1963 Edition—

The Case Against Socialized Medicine

The passage of the King-Anderson "medicare" bill is the President's No. 1 objective. Mr. Kennedy knows he cannot win the 1964 election if the over-65 age bracket continues to cast a 70 to 30 majority against him as it did in 1960. So this year he is offering the elderly a $2 billion gift package instead of last year's $1 billion and making the additional promise that this is only a beginning of the "something for nothing" that the elderly can expect from the Kennedy Administration.

The title of the 1963 bill, "Hospital Insurance Act of 1963," was dictated by the political need to deny *that the King-Anderson bill is socialized medicine.* Also, it creates the illusion that it is insurance. But the omission of any authority over doctors at this time was ONLY A MATTER OF STRATEGY.

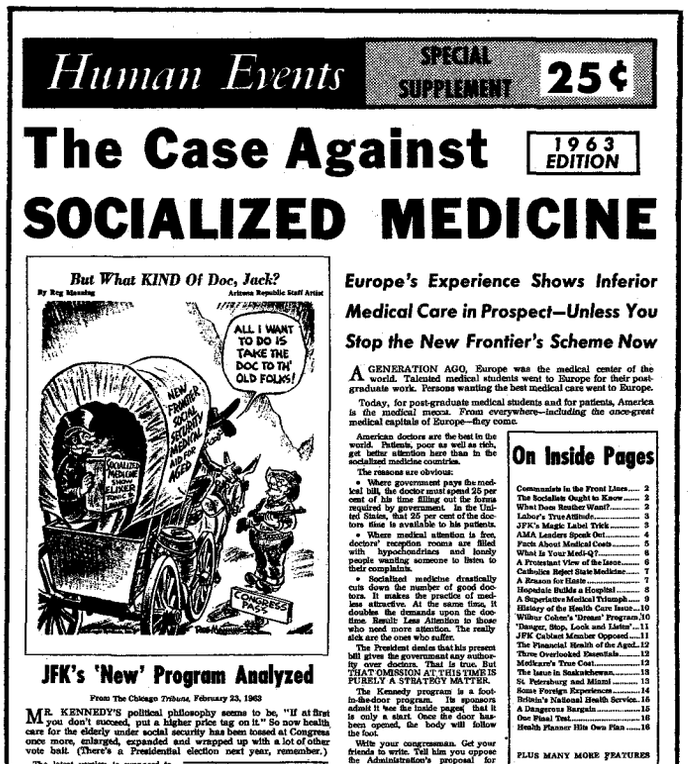
The Kennedy technique is simple: get medicare's foot in the door now and everything else will follow in a few years.

Kennedy's first medicare program met a surprising defeat last July when the Senate (2 to 1 Democratic) rejected the 1962 version of the King-Anderson bill by a 52 to 48 vote.

A factor in that defeat was the Special *Human Events* Supplement, "THE CASE AGAINST SOCIALIZED MEDICINE."

The first printing was 5,000 copies. In nine months, 961,000 copies were published. These were mailed to friends, left in cabs, trains, buses, placed in reception rooms and libraries, studied by students and teachers, used by precinct workers and organization leaders. Thousands of readers wrote "Letters to Editors" and to Congressmen.

When the President spoke in May from Madison Square Garden over ALL the television and radio networks who gave him free time, he asked his listeners to write to the White House and to Congress. The next night Dr. Edward Annis, representing the American Medical Association, spoke over ONE network, AMA being forced to pay for the time.



Human Events SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT 25¢

The Case Against SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

1963 EDITION

But What KIND Of Doc, Jack?

By Reg Manning — Arizona Republic Staff Artist

ALL I WANT TO DO IS TAKE THE DOC TO TH' OLD FOLKS!

NEW FRONTIER SOCIAL SECURITY FOR THE AGED

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

CADILLAC

JFK's 'New' Program Analyzed

From The Chicago Tribune, February 23, 1963

Europe's Experience Shows Inferior Medical Care in Prospect—Unless You Stop the New Frontier's Scheme Now

A GENERATION AGO, Europe was the medical center of the world. Talented medical students went to Europe for their post-graduate work. Persons wanting the best medical care went to Europe.

Today, for post-graduate medical students and for patients, America is the medical mecca. From everywhere—including the once-great medical capitals of Europe—they come.

On Inside Pages

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PLUS MANY MORE FEATURES

He, too, asked his audience to write. The startling response: the mail to the White House was 2 to 1 against the President.

Human Events is now completing its 1963 edition of "THE CASE AGAINST SOCIALIZED MEDICINE." New from cover to cover, it contains 16 pages of authoritative information exposing the fallacies of government medicare.

If you want to help defeat Kennedy's No. 1 objective for 1964—the issue on which he hopes to ride to victory—get "THE CASE AGAINST SOCIALIZED MEDICINE—1963 Edition." Ask your doctor and dentist to put copies on display in their waiting rooms. Send copies to clergymen and teachers and to other opinion molders. "THE CASE AGAINST SOCIALIZED MEDICINE—1963 Edition" will go to press March 20. Orders received before that printing can be DELIVERED TO YOU by April 5.

Fill out coupon below. Please act today.

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Section Four
March 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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JFK Needs a Direct Phone to Paris

By VICTOR LASKY

The Republicans have just been handed a powerful issue for 1964. And that is the apparent inability of President Kennedy to function as the leader of the Free World. From Ottawa to Karachi, thanks to incredible diplomatic ineptness, US prestige appears to have toppled to a new low.

And it wasn't long ago that President Kennedy thought "prestige" was of crucial importance. In fact, he based much of his 1960 campaign on the theme that the "image" of the United States had deteriorated vastly under Eisenhower and that, if elected, he intended to reverse that trend.

The weather has abruptly changed in Washington from the high buoyancy of the post-Cuba-crisis days. Wherever one looks, the Western alliance appears to be in disarray. To begin with, there was the debacle in Brussels. In vetoing Britain's entry into the Common Market, General de Gaulle has blocked—if not wrecked—President Kennedy's "Grand Design" for an Atlantic community with the United States in the driver's seat.

Then all of a sudden we found ourselves in an unseemly row with our indispensable close neighbor, Canada. Prime Minister Diefenbaker has publicly warned Washington not to consider Canada as "part of the New Frontier"—a direct slap at President Kennedy.

In Paris, de Gaulle not so privately refers to the President as "*Jacques L'Enfant*"—Jack the Infant. A West German official, visiting the United States, privately told a group of newsmen, "most Europeans do not take your President too seriously."

Why this "crisis in confidence" in President Kennedy?

Only a few months ago, Mr. Kennedy seemed to be on top of the world. He had scored what appeared to be an impressive victory over Khrushchev in Cuba. He became cocky and—in European eyes—arrogant. European leaders were outraged when Mr. Kennedy, at a Palm Beach background briefing for newsmen, let it be known that the United States intends to pursue its own role in world affairs even at the expense of treading on allied toes. "America is not out to win a popularity contest," was one version of Kennedy's words.

The President has repeatedly gone out of his way to irritate our allies. There was his disregard of European interests in such areas as the Congo. Over the protests of knowledgeable Europeans, the President authorized a United Nations military adventure aimed at smashing a pro-Western regime in Katanga. "Kennedy will undoubtedly be applauded by the world's neutrals," commented *Le Monde* of Paris, "but is showing how little regard he has for his allies."

Then there was the President's decision to hamper, or restrict, the growth of a truly independent nuclear deterrent in Europe. In London (where Whitehall announced it would develop its own air-launched missile to fill the gap left by US cancellation of Skybolt), a British official commented: "The day has long gone when the American President sneezed and Europe caught pneumonia. If the US now intends to place relations with the Afro-Asians, and even the Soviet Union, ahead of relations with Europe, the reaction on this side of the water is apt to be 'thank God for de Gaulle.' "

Doesn't See "Greatness"

Let's get to the point! Charles de Gaulle is today the most important spokesman for the new Europe. On the world stage he has emerged as at least the equal of President Kennedy. And no one knows that unpleasant fact better than John F. Kennedy, who seeks to go down in history as the greatest of American Presidents. But *Le General* refuses to play ball. He has yet to see any "greatness" in the young man from Hyannisport. He is unwilling to entrust the future of France—and the Europe which he now dominates—to the trigger finger of a youth responsible for the incredible fiasco of the Bay of Pigs. And who can really blame him?

DE GAULLE

It has been difficult for de Gaulle to take the Kennedy Administration very seriously. While Mr. Kennedy keeps saying that the threat in Cuba has diminished, the Soviet military buildup continues for all who want to see. And when the President was asserting the indivisibility of the NATO Alliance, US diplomats were engaged in bilateral, secret negotiations with the Soviets. Suspicious Europeans began to ask if the United States was about to make a deal with Moscow over Europe's head.

Much of French public opinion does not trust the New Frontier's adventures—or misadventures—in diplomacy. "An atomic Yalta is shaping up," headlined the Right-wing anti-Gaullist Paris *L'Aurore* and the Left-wing anti-Gaullist weekly *L'Express* observed, "Let no one have any illusion about it: France is behind de Gaulle."

French hostility towards President Kennedy is not surprising. The French have long memories and it is indeed difficult for them to forget Kennedy's Francophobia over the years. As a congressman, Mr. Kennedy pursued a vigorously anti-French line on Indo-China and later, as a Senator, he made Algerian independence "his" issue. On another occasion he went so far as to suggest that French possession of atomic weapons was more dangerous to the United States than those of the Soviet Union.

Where's the Opposition?

As the pro-Alliance Paris *La Croix* put it: "Instead of a direct telephone between the White House and the Kremlin, what seems more essential is a permanent line between Europe and the United States."

(*continued on next page*)

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(*continued from preceding page*)

Curiously, the Republicans have failed to make any real impact in their criticism of Administration failings.

Nevertheless, the job of the Loyal Opposition is to oppose. The Democrats did a superb job of opposing the Eisenhower Administration. Who could ever forget the uproar which followed the ill-fated U-2 mission over the Soviet Union? And remember when then Senator Kennedy urged President Eisenhower to "express regrets" to Comrade Khrushchev over the unfortunate episode?

Among many Republicans there is the feeling that now may not be the time to rock the boat. But, as a prominent partisan put it, just a few years ago, "Bipartisanship does not mean—and was never meant to mean—rubberstamping of every Executive blunder without debate."

The man who said this was none other than John F. Kennedy.

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End Economic Hodge-Podge

Congress Must Assume Control

From the San Diego *Union*

A feeling of dismay is sweeping over the country.

A cascade of words is tumbling out of Washington —but they seem to make little sense to the people. We speak for the Western alliance—and our allies reel in doubt and confusion.

The President's fiscal program has lost all meaning. Even leading members of his own party, and many of them normally political liberals, also seem bewildered.

On the one hand, the President says taxes are a drag on the economy, proposes to cut them and practice fiscal frugality; on the other hand, he dumps on Congress a vast new spending package and waves aside a fantastic deficit.

As one Democratic congressman is supposed to have expressed it, "If that is being frugal, I'm Peter Rabbit."

Walter Heller, the professorial chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, says he has the answer to all of this. He says that the deficit merely "means, after all, that the government is putting more money into the economy than it is taking out!"

HELLER

The old chain-letter fad seems to have been adapted to economics. Even the President refers to a "chain reaction" of spending, as if every dollar that is spent by the government automatically carries its own seed of prosperity.

What has emerged in Washington, and is being passed off as a fiscal program, is a hodge-podge reflecting the diverse suggestions coming to the President from left-liberal politicians, radical professors, immature advisers and assorted speech writers. Dropped in here and there, with an eye to public support, are concessions to conservative, or orthodox, thinking.

Tax reduction is necessary for economic growth, but it was too much to expect that those who sought more federal power would suddenly favor a freer economy. The Administration is merely restoring inflation. The President's messages have been speeches more than programs.

In these messages the President has almost abdicated his responsibility. He has swept up a conflicting mass of ideas and thrown them at Congress—or you might say, at the people.

If it all doesn't work, he says, he'll try something else.

To whom are the people to turn for guidance? For understanding of what is right or wrong?

The Congress must step in and take hold of the government of the United States, as far as constitutionally possible.

The Congress must immediately assert its full authority over the spending and taxing powers of government and over its fiscal policies. It should throw out the President's program in its entirety and begin the task of charting a clear and acceptable course of action.

The United States cannot be governed by chance and by theory. Congress must act, for the good of the country.

The appropriate committees of the Senate and House also must begin thorough hearings into our foreign policy, our relations with our allies, into the truth about the situation in Cuba and into the manipulation of public information.

Let's find out what is going on, who is doing what and why, and what can be done about it.

WASHINGTON SAYS IT WANTS MORE BUSINESSMEN IN THE GOVERNMENT

NO, SIR, I NEVER BELIEVED IN BALANCED BUDGETS — STRICTLY DEFICIT FINANCING, FOR ME! DEBTS? THE SKY'S THE CEILING, I ALWAYS SAID! BORROW AND SQUANDER, WAS MY POLICY—
BANKRUPT
YOU ARE A TRUE ADHERENT TO THE NEW FRONTIER PHILOSOPHY— THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS YOU!
CLOSED
WHITE HOUSE ECONOMIST
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PARRISH

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Section Five
March 16, 1963
HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report
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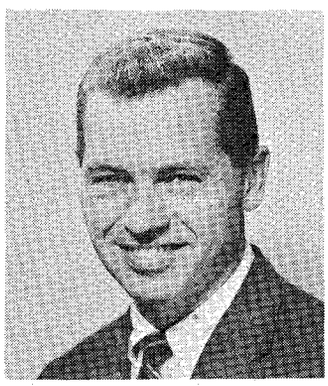
How NOT to Teach Teachers

By DR. JAMES D. KOERNER

During the past two years, I have visited, for periods of from a day to a week, 63 institutions that train teachers: universities, multi-purpose colleges, liberal arts and teachers colleges, in all sections of the country and representing all types of programs now in operation. I have looked especially at the preparatory programs for teachers of academic subjects, both liberal arts and the professional part, and I have examined the graduate programs leading to the numerous masters' and doctors' degrees in education.



KOERNER

I have visited about 200 classes in both academic and professional subjects; have talked with many hundreds of administrators, students and members of the faculty; have read through a small library of books, reports, monographs, pamphlets and periodicals; have examined several thousand transcripts of credit for graduates of education programs; have attended innumerable education meetings, conferences, seminars and conventions; and in sundry other ways acquainted myself with the massive industry of professional education.

It has been, I regret to say, a cheerless experience. . . This is so because neither the liberal arts nor the professional component of these training programs comes even close to its theoretical goal.

In the first place, the field of professional education, which controls the training programs for teachers and administrators, has become an unwieldy, slow-witted, bureaucratic colossus, standing on a slippery foundation built on sand. It is the most poorly defined, formless field in higher education.

It is the most derivative, taking its substance from the academic fields of psychology, history, philosophy and the social sciences, all of which it has digested badly while adding little that is uniquely its own. Because it has failed to bring a unifying theory into this multifariousness, its training programs continue to be constructed on tenuous and untested hypotheses, or whatever is expedient in a given instance.

Education [of teachers] has been corrupted by money and power. It is a big business. It turns out a quarter of all the undergraduate degrees awarded by American institutions, and in 1963 will graduate about 150,000 persons eligible to teach in public schools, a good many of whom will not teach, and a good many more of whom will not teach long. It awards half of all masters' degrees, and more doctors' degrees, by a sizable margin, than any other single academic field. To man this giant machine, the education field has well over 20,000 full-time faculty members, making it second in size only to the field of English.

Outside the institutions themselves, there is a constellation of large professional and service organizations which is an integral part of the education machine. All this has happened in an astonishingly short time, and success has seduced the field into arrogance and administrative busywork and away from basic concerns.

Thus, one of the reasons that the education of American teachers is fundamentally a failure is that professional education, which constructs and controls the training programs, has extremely poor credentials as an academic discipline. The fact that it has won recognition as such a discipline—which it has done through the abdication of responsibility by the liberal arts departments—is not a qualification; it merely makes possible the building of more academic empires on sandy foundations.

The Caliber of the Education Faculty

This general disability, as well as the specific ills that education is heir to, is most traceable, as it would be in any other field, to the faculty. It is an indecorous thing to say and is obviously offensive to educationists, but it is the truth, and it should be said: The intellectual caliber of the education faculty is *the* fundamental limitation of the field.

Yet the preparatory programs for public school teachers are chiefly under the *de facto* supervision of the education faculty. It is here that admission to the training programs is controlled; here that the programs themselves are constructed; here that the future teacher accumulates courses in education and pedagogy; here that he develops whatever professional outlook he has; here that—hopefully—he learns what to do with what—hopefully—he has acquired from his academic courses.

Cardinal Newman, who wrote one of the great treatises on liberal education, saw only one reason for courses: "The general principles of any study you may learn by books at home; but the detail, the colour, the tone, the air, the life in us, you must catch all these from those in whom it already lives." It does not live in the greatest part of the present education faculty; in this unfortunate fact lies education's greatest problem.

Weak students gravitate to weak faculties. Education students, along with students in agriculture and business administration, fill the lower ranks of the academic ladder. Every major study of the subject, beginning with a classic one in the state of Pennsylvania in 1928-1932 and coming down to very recent ones, has arrived at the same conclusion: Education students show up very badly, both in achievement and native ability, when compared with students in other fields—a fact that has been known informally throughout higher education for half a century.

The Education Major

The education courses themselves deserve their ill repute. Most of them are indeed puerile, repetitious, dull and ambiguous—incontestably. Two factors make them this way: the limitations of the instructor, and the limitations of the subject matter which has been remorselessly fragmented, subdivided and inflated, and which, in many instances, was not adequate in its uninflated state.

The principal subjects of the professional curriculum—teaching methods, practice teaching and the educational

(*continued on next page*)

This is a condensation of an article by Dr. James D. Koerner appearing in the February, 1963, issue of *Atlantic Monthly* magazine. Dr. Koerner has taught at Kansas State University and at M.I.T. and is currently serving as president of the Council for Basic Education.

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(*continued from preceding page*)

aspects of history, philosophy and psychology—are almost never taught, and the textbooks almost never written by persons who are themselves historians, philosophers, psychologists or proven experts in teaching. Hence, there is nothing more obvious in the typical education class, apart from the remarkable docility of the students, than the lack of real depth and scholarship on the part of the instructor.

There is a universal devotion to the "discussion method", which most often signifies, as it does in public schools, an aimless, generalized bull session. Great use is also made of group dynamics: field trips, panel discussions, student-directed projects and an infinite variety of movies and other visual aids; these devices no doubt have their uses, one of which seems to be to kill time.

Apart from the question of quality, the quantity of education courses required or permitted in teacher training also deserves the harsh things that are usually said about it.

The transcripts indicate, among other things, that the preparing institutions go far beyond state certification requirements in education courses. Elementary school teachers get an average of forty-nine semester hours in education, while the average requirement for state licensure is twenty-four. Secondary school teachers get about twenty-seven semester hours, while the average state requirement is eighteen.

Elementary school teachers, that is, spend about 40 per cent of their four years of college taking education courses in such subjects as Educational Psychology, (usually three or four courses under different names but covering about the same material), audio-visual aids, personal and community hygiene, and elementary school curriculum. They also take a seemingly endless series of discrete courses in how to teach each subject of the elementary school at each level of the elementary school. Secondary teachers spend nearly 25 per cent of their time taking education courses.

The Education Bureaucracy

The greatest obstacle to reform is the field of education itself. This is natural. Teacher training is a major industry, the income from which supports not only schools and departments and professors of education, but often other branches of the university as well, even entire institutions. Sometimes the income is fairly good, permitting high salaries and fast promotions for the education faculty.

Like any vast bureaucracy, education is by nature much dedicated to the status quo and has developed a centripetal circle of power to perpetuate it. At the center are the institutions themselves, while orbiting around them are accrediting associations, the state departments of education and the administrator-dominated state and national agencies like the NEA. Such a concentration of power naturally looks with a cold eye on suggestions for change, especially those coming from outside. It has a built-in radar that sounds the warning at the approach of any proposal that threatens to diminish the establishment, or that might jeopardize jobs or status.

Thus, the field has a history of opposition—more or less automatic—to most proposals for reform that have been made over the last half century. It held the line for decades against increasing the liberal content of its programs at the expense of the pedagogical; it fought like a tiger to maintain *in statu quo*, the state certification requirements—that monument to administrative rigidity. It met criticism with fury, denunciation and diversionary attack. There has always been, for example, enormous opposition to any proposal that would license teachers in a way that would make the most sense to the most people—through a system of qualifying examinations.

What to Do

That being true, what are some of the practical, concrete reforms that could be made now within the existing establishment?

1. The time devoted in teacher-training programs to education courses should be restricted to state requirement, which allow ample time for pedagogical work of any consequence.

2. At least two thirds of the work for all graduate degrees in education (the Master of Arts in Teaching degree excepted, where it might be about half) should be in the liberal arts area, and students in these programs should be required to measure up to the customary graduate standards.

3. The regular four-year undergraduate program should remain the standard preparation for new teachers. The Master of Arts in Teaching programs should, by all means, be continued and encouraged for liberal arts graduates without previous work in education; but the accelerating movement toward making five years of preparation mandatory for all new teachers is ill-advised. It merely takes the pressure off the undergraduate programs to improve themselves, and it inflicts an enormous and unnecessary burden on an already overtaxed system of graduate education. Four years are ample, provided they are wisely used.

4. Undergraduate majors in education should be eliminated, and all teachers, including elementary teachers and special school personnel, should be required to major in an academic subject. A reasonable reduction in education courses would make this possible, while the time devoted to the student's general education would remain about what it now is.

5. Education courses that are derived directly from academic disciplines, such as those in educational psychology and in the history and philosophy of education, should be taught only by persons fully qualified to teach in the appropriate academic departments of the same institution. This commonsense recommendation would mean that 90 per cent of the people now teaching these courses would cease to teach them, and so it is a bit utopian, but it is a goal toward which education ought to be moving with all deliberate speed.

6. If competent faculty cannot be secured to teach methods courses—and most such courses are incompetently taught now—formal courses in the subject should be eliminated.

7. Persons whose graduate training has been in education and who have no recognized qualifications in an academic field should not be allowed to teach academic courses, as they now frequently do in teachers colleges and many smaller institutions.

Unfortunately, the political realities of the education field dictate a future built upon the past, which means that modest, short-term gains, a kind of mild meliorism, will probably be the pattern of the future. The key question is whether improvement of this sort can keep up with the problems of exploding enrollments, the advancement of knowledge itself and the other educational exigencies of the nation.

In any event, continued improvement in teacher education, slow or fast, will come only in response to unrelenting pressure from the public, the scholarly and scientific community, and the small minority of educationists who know better than anyone else what is wrong and who want to change it.

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Section Six
March 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

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'Yankee from the West'

An Old-Fashioned Liberal Speaks Out

By BURTON K. WHEELER, Democratic Senator from Montana, 1923-1947

When I first came to Washington, I thought I had all the answers on how to settle the economic ills of the country. I was eager to help the farmer and the laborer and couldn't wait to get started. Gradually I had to change my ideas on some specific remedies. For example, I had thought government ownership of the railroads would help reduce the freight rates. But when I saw the clumsy and wasteful manner in which many departments and agencies administered their programs, I changed my mind about government ownership.

Congressional 'Watchdogs'

. . . Numerous . . . congressional committees have acted as "watchdogs" over our ever growing bureaucracy. I consider them to be absolutely essential to our system of checks and balances—and in the best tradition of a truly democratic republic. Federal office holders today wield vast power and allocate millions, even billions of dollars; all of them are as human as the rest of us, and inevitably a percentage of them are inefficient or crooked. Only surveillance by experts in another branch of the government can keep crookedness and laxity to a minimum.

Corruption in Government

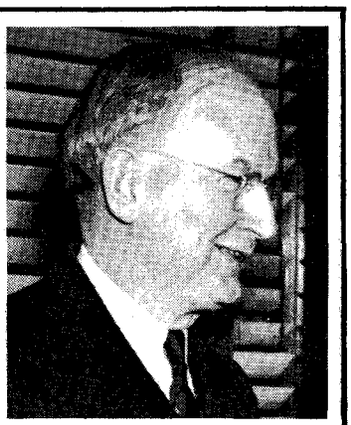
We continually hear about the menace of communism—and it is a real menace—but there is no greater menace to free government than corrupt officials and those who would corrupt them. Corruption in government destroys the faith of the people in a republican form of government to such an extent that it is eventually overthrown by a Fascist or Communist dictator—and freedom is at an end. There are countless examples of this.

The Filibuster

. . . Since World War II, it has been the liberals who have wanted to make it easier to curb a filibuster; their objective is to circumvent filibustering conservatives who want to block civil rights legislation.

But after World War I it was the progressives, the model liberals of their day, who fought to preserve the right to unlimited debate . . .

About the Author



This article is excerpted from Burton K. Wheeler's recently published autobiography, **Yankee from the West** (Doubleday & Co., N. Y., 1962, $5.95), which he wrote in collaboration with Paul Healy, reporter from the New York **Daily News**. Wheeler, US Democratic Senator from Montana from 1923 to 1947, was, in the words of Senator Barry Goldwater, "a lawmaker of great principle, tremendous energy and enormous faith in the American system of government.

FDR and Unemployment

In 1934, I was aboard the Roosevelt train when the President returned through Montana from a trip to Hawaii. Mrs. Roosevelt was sitting with us one day when we were discussing the drought.

"Franklin, what are you going to do about unemployment?" she suddenly asked. FDR went right on talking about something else.

"Franklin, what are you going to do about unemployment?" she persisted. Still her husband ignored her. Finally, when she repeated the question a third time, FDR replied: "My dear, if I knew I would have told you a long time ago. I'm going to try a little of this and a little of that and see what we come out with."

In 1937 I related this conversation to a White House aide and his comment surprised me. "Did it ever occur to you that there is no unemployment in wartime?" he asked.

The Senate

. . . The office of United States Senator is the finest there is—if you are a free man. By this I mean free from dictation by political bosses and control by corporations, labor or other pressure groups . . .

Foreign Policy

The Constitutional provision giving Congress the right to declare war has become almost meaningless today because of the foreign policy moves of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy. Sending military missions all over the world and taking sides in internal controversies is war by whatever name you call it. The President's right to do this has become so much a part of our "one world" philosophy that he does not even have to justify it by saying we are over there to protect American property or citizens.

I have been called an isolationist because I opposed getting into World War I and World War II and because I voiced skepticism of Russia's aims and that the United Nations or foreign aid would solve all international problems. If such positions warrant the badge of isolationist, I wear it proudly. I still believe America would have been better off by remaining out of the two world-wide holocausts. We went to war twice to save democracy. At the end of both wars there was less democracy in the world, millions of Americans were killed or wounded, the peace "settlements" created far more serious problems for the United States and the world than had existed before and our national debt was skyrocketing.

No one will gainsay that the Communist menace we face today is the most critical in our history. Our aid to Russia during and after the war and our commitments to her at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam are responsible for the postwar challenge to us. Our moral, economic, and political influence in the world has never been less in this century. We try to "buy" with foreign aid the friendship of nations we seek as allies, and, like all friendships that are bought, they are ephemeral. I think most of the money we spend in the vain pursuit

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of friends is wasted. To a high degree it goes into the pockets of the dictators, princes, ruling families, or generals that control the countries we seek to aid. The plain people never see it and never benefit from our gifts of millions of dollars. We continue to pay excessive taxes and to lose our national supply of gold to line the pockets of corrupt foreign officials.

International Entanglements

Just as Winston Churchill's first concern was for England and Stalin's first concern was for Russia, so I have no regrets or apologies to make for placing the welfare of America ahead of that of any other country. This does not mean that I think we should crawl into our shell like a turtle and ignore what is going on in the rest of the world . . . In the conduct of our foreign relations in the future, I would urge that it should be a "must" to consider first and foremost the effect of every proposal on the United States and its people. We must be realistic in the conduct of our foreign affairs, as all other major powers are. Intervention in foreign wars, civil or otherwise, is fraught with grave danger. It should not be undertaken unless a serious threat to the country is involved . . . The maintenance of US military forces in foreign countries is a serious mistake in most instances.

While we may not be able to extricate ourselves immediately from our heavy military and financial global commitments, we should make a beginning at once, if we are to avoid an atomic or economic catastrophe.

Also I think the Congress and the people should be kept better informed on the activities of the President and the Department of State in the field of foreign affairs. And the guiding light of our policy should be, "What's best for America?"

. . . I had voted for the UN charter because a lot of internationalists had said the reason the League of Nations was unsuccessful was because the United States had not joined. I didn't want them to have the same alibi about the UN.

. . . I believe our system in the long run triumphs over human weakness. I am certain that most members of the Senate, for example, are honest, as are most of our government servants. If most of our lawmakers could be bought, Uncle Sam's democracy would have been finished long ago—and we would have a dictatorship.

Congress: Bulwark of Freedom

For me this book will be worthwhile if it serves no other purpose than to make the reader appreciate more fully that the bulwark of our freedom is Congress. In recent years, it has become fashionable to make fun of Congress and to decry its inability to act expeditiously . . . Many of those who style themselves "liberals" are loudest in their demands that we vest ever more power in the executive branch . . . These scoffers give only lip service to our tradition of separation of powers between three branches.

. . . Congress is an essential part of our tradition and it alone can keep us free. If you don't approve of your senator or congressman, do something about it by working in a party or simply by voting, but don't undermine Congress and don't countenance anyone else doing such a wrecking job, whether it is your neighbor, the smart aleck, know-it-all magazine editor or the President of the United States. If you do so, you may well lose your freedom.

American Traditions

. . . When you hear or read statements debunking our traditions or the great men in our history who established them or helped uphold them, don't fall for it. Such statements are usually made by someone who wants to appear either learned or clever. Acceptance of them would undermine our greatest heritage.

"Party Discipline"

It is a chronic complaint of the latter-day "liberals" that Congress is not "carrying out" the President's program. What they really want is for Congress to be a rubber stamp, although they use the term, "party discipline." Too strict party discipline is not compatible with our democratic system; it cannot be enforced without intellectual or financial dishonesty. On the Presidential train in 1934, . . . the President said he would like to see a great deal more [party discipline] in the Democratic Party. My comment was: "Show me an efficient, disciplined party organization in any big city and I will show you a corrupt organization."

In most countries, broadcasting is a government function and of course has an unlimited potential for disseminating propaganda. I want to avoid that in the United States and that's why I am so anxious for the chosen few who are licensed to operate our airwaves to live up to their responsibilities to the public. It is the only way to preserve private ownership.

Two Kinds of "Liberals"

. . . In the generally accepted groupings today, I agree with the "liberals" when they are on the side of justice for the individual and against the concentration of economic power. I agree with the "conservatives" in their opposition to the buildup of centralized power in the federal government.

What bothers me about today's "liberals" is this: Through the ages, those called liberals fought to take the power away from the kings and the emperors and to give it to the parliaments; now it is the "liberals" who are anxious to give more and more power to the executive, at the expense of the legislative branch. We must not forget that Hitler was able to become a dictator because he persuaded the Reichstag to vote away their powers—"temporarily," so they thought!

Too, the modern "liberals" preach tolerance but in some ways are extremely intolerant themselves. They would cast into outer darkness anyone who does not go along with them one hundred per cent. And some of our labor leaders have become so powerful they try to tell legislators how to vote not only on union legislation but on foreign policy and civil rights issues as well.

. . . The word "liberal" has become entirely suspect because of the grossest sins committed in its name. Today many so-called leaders are professional liberals. They would rather be known as liberal than to be right. They have tortured a great word to cover a false philosophy, to wit, that the end justified the means. Liberalism, . . . has never meant a slavish devotion to a program, but rather did liberalism connote a state of the spirit, a tolerance for the views of others, an attitude of respect for others and a willingness to learn by experience, no less in social fields than in the physical sciences.

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Section Seven
March 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS

Your Weekly Washington Report

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RIDGEWAY STATE COLLEGE
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Our Foreign Policy Is Imported

The New Frontier's Doctrine Gap

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

That new Gap in Washington—the Doctrine Gap concerning a worldwide military philosophy—almost merits Mercutio's famous description of his death wound:

"No, 'tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church door; but 'tis enough, 'twill serve: Ask for me tomorrow and you shall find me a grave man."

The Cuban crisis has worsened in 1963 beyond the gloomiest forecasts. Last September, the unofficial Pentagon estimates were that it would cost 40,000 casualties to take Castro's fortified island. In late February this estimate was lifted to 75,000 casualties.

Meanwhile, two other advantages have accrued to Castro's position. DeLesseps Morrison, our Ambassador to the Organization of American States, virtually admitted under questioning before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that Castro's bastion had gone a long way toward outflanking the Administration's highly-touted Alliance for Progress. Private capital simply will not move into Latin America so long as the threat of Communist military action and sabotage are so rampant.

MORRISON

Defense Secretary McNamara, in secret session before the Senate Armed Services Committee, spoke more bluntly than Ambassador Morrison. Referring directly to the Alliance for Progress, McNamara declared:

". . . the necessary conditions have not been created to encourage private investment, both domestic and foreign. Indeed, private investment in Latin America has actually declined and the flight of private domestic capital has, in some cases, reached serious proportions."

Not only has Castro's strategic position athwart the Caribbean blockaded our economic aid program, but Castro-trained "actionists" are arriving in South America in large numbers. There is a grim expectation of bloody business that will resemble the guerrilla wars of Southeast Asia.

Against this mounting menace, which could change the whole nature of Western Hemisphere living conditions, the Administration has no doctrine—none at all. The cost of invading Cuba is now so high that some of the stoutest pro-invasion hearts have quailed. "Khrushchev's credibility—his vows to defend Cuba with intercontinental missiles—has improved. Mr. Kennedy's credibility—his counter-threats and warnings—invokes the early American expression of "not worth a continental."

Ambassador Morrison blanched when a congressman asked him if he felt the OAS should form a collective military force to invade Cuba. His opinion was that the South Americans would shun the thought. Yet the Administration has all but abandoned any idea of going to Cuba without South American participation. We stand stymied by our failing leadership and by fear of triggering an all-out war.

Into this void of doctrine has crept the suggestion that only a Caribbean "Pearl Harbor" can jolt us into a war which had better be fought sooner than later. *This is the saddest commentary of all upon our plight. For it says that the American foreign policy, the one product which should always be marked "Made in the USA," has become an alien import.*

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Seems the Mice Will Play, No Matter Where the Cat Is

SOME AFTERTHOUGHTS ON THE UN—"If it is technicians that Cuba needs, we have been told in recent months that Soviet technicians are plentiful in Cuba. If there are so many Soviet technicians, why must the United Nations now supply $1.1 million worth of technicial help to Communist Cuba? If the UN aid programs are free of political ties, why then would the United Nations suspend its assistance program in Iran because of revolutionary upheaval in that country?"—Representative Paul G. Rogers (D.-Fla.)

* * *

NEWS MANAGEMENT—"Sometimes officeholders seem to forget that public business is the public's business . . . It is not in the interests of free institutions for any government, including our own, to use news as an instrument of national policy."—Hon. William F. Knowland, Editor, Oakland *Tribune.*

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Expensive Job Training

From the Odessa *American*

It's interesting, but hard on the blood pressure, to keep paper and pencil handy when reading government press handouts these days.

Take a current release from the US Department of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary, via the state office in Dallas. It relates that "five new programs in Texas to train 96 unemployed or underemployed workers under the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 have been approved by US Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz." (*Always be sure to get the top dog's name and title in the first paragraph.*)

WIRTZ

Briefly, the next four paragraphs report that two of the programs are to be in Corpus Christi, one each in Laredo, Howard County and San Antonio. . . .

The last paragraph is the kicker. We quote it in full:

"In support of the five new training projects in Texas, the US Department of Labor has allocated $161,446 in labor training allowances and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has approved training costs of $131,112."

Here's where the paper and pencil comes into play. Add the two figures and you get a total of $292,558 that the US taxpayer, perhaps unwillingly, is sinking into the training of these 96 "unemployed or underemployed workers."

Divide the total of 96 and you find it comes to just over $3,047 per trainee. That's a lot of money for a year's training. Even the fly-by-night diploma mills scarcely would dare charge that much tuition.

It's doubtful that a full four-year course in an accredited high school anywhere in the United States costs that much—including state and local tax subsidies.

A student can spend two full years in a pretty decent college or university and not spend more than $3,000 for the whole works—tuition, books, living costs and clothes.

Why, then, should it cost $3,047 a head to train 96 assorted "entry grade" auto and diesel mechs, auto dump men and television repairmen?

It scarcely seems likely that instructors in courses like these would be required to have PhD's in education. Nor would they need any cyclotron-equipped laboratories for the profundity of the subjects to be pursued.

One area not long ago turned down a similar offer from Secretary W. Willard Wirtz, et al, to train a bunch of the unemployed to operate heavy motorized equipment. The thinking appeared to be that unemployed tractor operators were just as expensive to support on welfare as unskilled laborers.

Let's hope that Corpus, Laredo, San Antonio and Howard County have jobs waiting for their 96 skilled "entry grade" mechanics when they graduate a year from now—so they can go right to work and start paying income taxes to apply on their $3,000 debts to us taxpayers.

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A Doctor Rejects Welfare

The fight against socialized medicine is best demonstrated by those who show that the practice of medicine is best carried out by the individual. The recent action of Dr. Clarance S. Martin, of Medina, North Dakota, is just such a story. On November 30 of last year, Dr. Martin announced he would no longer accept government payments for treating welfare cases; rather, they would be treated free of charge.

MARTIN

In an advertisement placed in the Jamestown (N.D.) *Sun,* the 44-year-old doctor said, "Before our heavy government welfare subsidy began commercializing medicine, it had been the unwritten policy of all those who practice the art of medicine to treat all patients alike, accepting reasonable fees only on the basis of the patient's ability to pay. I am therefore putting this policy into writing and returning to it in my practice."

The small-town physician, the father of five children, urged welfare patients to continue to visit him and assured them that they would receive the same care as before.

The doctor concluded, "It stands to reason that when I give you a dollar, it costs me only that dollar. But, if I let the government do it for me, it costs me $3, plus my freedom . . . probably the greatest sabotage is that of the human emotion. It [government] takes away the joy of helping someone."

JFK's Policy: Spend and Spend

By REPRESENTATIVE FRANK BECKER (R.-N.Y.)

(*The following remarks were made in reply to Representative Hale Boggs (D.-La.) who had attempted to defend President Kennedy's handling of domestic economic problems.*)

You talk about the gross national product, but when you deduct $100 billion of federal spending, the gross national product looks as phony as a $3 bill.

Further, the ridiculous tax reduction proposal of the President—what he is proposing is that the government borrow $12 billion from the people and then give them a tax cut. However, in the second proposal for tax reform, he is going to take the tax reduction away from the low- and middle-income families and make them pay more taxes than ever before.

I remember the New Deal and Fair Deal policies of tax and tax and spend and spend, but President Kennedy has introduced a new gimmick. Spend and spend, build bigger and bigger deficits, push the national debt into orbit and reduce taxes or try to make it look like reducing taxes.

Believe me, from my mail and talking to my people back home, they are not being fooled one little bit.

TODAY'S QUESTION—Walter Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, claims that a tax cut plus a big increase in government spending and the size of the deficit will spark an economic upturn in the United States. He describes this theory as "fiscal fitness." Wouldn't a better term be "fiscal fits"?—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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Section Eight
March 16, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

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The Voluntary Way—The American Way

Kennedy's Medicare Would Lead to Socialism

By SENATOR CARL T. CURTIS (R.-Neb.)

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE will never deliberately, in one great step, choose socialism. The danger is that little by little we are tempted with programs that must and will ultimately lead to socialism. Such is the case in reference to medical care.

The government controls and the loss of liberty and the deterioration of medical care are only slight at the beginning, but they grow and grow.

We are at this time faced with a real fight to preserve the private practice of medicine in the United States, to prevent those steps from being taken which will ultimately and finally lead to a government system of medicine. I believe we can win that fight. I believe we can win it in 1963, but there was never a time when we needed to work harder and when there was a greater need for public education on all that is really involved than now.

I am for hospital and medical care for our aged citizens. I want that care to be the best that our fine, traditional American system of medicine can provide. I want the great advances made in medicine and in drugs to continue for the benefit of all mankind. The record in this country is unsurpassed.

I do disagree with some individuals as to how we should provide this medical care for our citizens over 65. Without boring you with statistics, I believe you will agree that among those over 65 there are some people well able to pay for their own hospital and medical care or to secure private insurance to provide the same. There are also some older people who are unable to provide hospital and medical care for themselves. Let us consider each group.

THE FIRST QUESTION is: Should government provide medical care, including hospital care, for our older citizens who are unable to provide

SENATOR CURTIS

for such care themselves? I would answer that question with an emphatic, yes. For many years our destitute aged have received hospital and medical care at public expense. That should be continued. I would go farther. I would include those people over 65 who may have some funds and are self-supporting, but who cannot pay a costly hospital and medical bill. This group has sometimes been referred to as the "near-needy."

Such a program—to provide hospital and medical care for the "near-needy," including drugs and other essentials for sick patients—has been enacted. It is known as the Kerr-Mills law. I voted for it. Under this law, any state desiring to provide medical assistance for people over 65 who are "near-needy" can do so and the federal government will share in the cost. It follows the same pattern that has been followed for the actual needy for many years. The "near-needy" are not required to be paupers in order to be entitled to the benefits.

Under the Kerr-Mills law, a program can be set up to fit the specific needs of a patient. If he needs help in having medical prescriptions filled, that can be done. If he must be sent to the hospital, that can be taken care of. Government can pay the costs of having the doctor call at his home or surgery can be provided. In fact, the Kerr-Mills law is not limited to fine-print benefits. It is intended to take care of people over 65 who need help and who are and should be the concern of government.

THE OTHER BASIC QUESTION to be asked is: Shall government provide hospital and medical care for people over 65 if they are well able to provide it for themselves? This is a fundamental question. It means, should we tax the young, the middle-aged and the aged, if they are still working, to pay the hospital bills and some related medical expenses for all older people, including those who are well able to pay [these costs] themselves? My answer to that question is, no. I do not believe, for instance, the government should tax young people who are raising a family, buying a home and educating their children to pay the hospital bills of individuals who are financially able to pay their own bills. This is the essence of the Kennedy Administration's proposal . . .

If the King-Anderson bill is enacted it will mean a man can have an annual income of a hundred thousand dollars or more, unlimited capital assets, need not be retired, yet if he is 65, his hospital bill and certain related medical expenses will be paid. By whom will it be paid? It will be paid by the workers and the self-em-

(*continued on next page*)

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This article is excerpted from an address entitled "The Voluntary Way—The American Way" given by Senator Curtis before the fifth annual Medical Services Conference of the American Medical Association, November 25, 1962, at Los Angeles, California.

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(*continued from preceding page*)

ployed and the employers of the country.

I am opposed to the Kennedy proposal for several reasons:

(1) The proposal would provide hospital care for those without considering whether they could afford to pay their own hospital expenses.

(2) The proposal would finance such a program through the social security system, thus overburdening the present system.

(3) The proposal would increase withholding taxes, primarily on the young, making it more difficult for them to meet their current medical expenses, much less provide for future expenses.

(4) The enactment of the Kennedy proposal . . . would result in a poorer quality of medical service for all of our citizens . . .

A study has been made as to what portion of the costs of illness would be paid if the King-Anderson bill . . . were enacted into law. This has been established as being 25 per cent of the expenses of illness of persons eligible for the benefits. In other words, for the people covered, whether they are in need or not, it would not pay 75 per cent of the expenses incurred.

My colleague, Tom Curtis, has very aptly pointed out "that a medically indigent person is no more able to pay 75 per cent of his medical expenses than he is to pay 100 per cent of such expenses."

UNFORTUNATELY, the issue of medical and hospital care for the aged has been confused by a lot of misinformation. I am satisfied that many of the proponents of the measure in Congress do not realize its shortcomings. I am thoroughly satisfied that many of the people back home have been misinformed. It is not uncommon for a constituent to write in support of the Administration's proposal citing, as a reason for its need, the high cost of his doctor bills and his medicine. The fact is, the proposal being offered would not pay any part of either one.

When the King-Anderson bill was considered by the Senate . . . last year, it was shocking to notice that some of my colleagues had a total misunderstanding of the bill before us. Senators arose in their places and told of someone that they knew who had suffered a catastrophic illness. They recounted for the record not an illness of a short duration but a long one, involving prolonged hospitalization and costly surgery, nurses' care and medical attention. They appeared not to realize that the bill before them would do practically nothing for the individual or the family faced with a really long-term catastrophic and expensive illness.

Either the Administration proposal is a delusion and will be a disappointment to our people, or they must admit it is merely a foot in the door for a larger program.

While many of the public received misinformation about what the bill would do, the designers of the legislation knew well it was only a beginning and that they intended to inaugurate a complete program of government medicine. I want to read to you what a distinguished Senator said on the Senate floor during that debate. He said:

> "If the Senator from Wyoming will permit me to do so, I wish to comment on the two points the able Senator from Louisiana raised. One was that if the program of insurance, hospitalization and medical care were enacted, those of us who support it should take the responsibility of considering it as only a beginning. I am pleased to accept that responsibility."

It is well to keep in mind that the advocates of big government—that the people who do not believe in the ability of most of our citizens to take care of themselves, and who now favor the Administration's proposal—were, a few years ago, proponents of the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill, which did provide complete governmental medical care for all of our citizens.

The issue before us is not merely one legislative proposal or bill, it is the choosing of the road to socialism.

The Administration proposal disregards the great advances that have been made in private health insurance. As of December 31, 1961, 73½ per cent of our civilian population was covered with some form of health insurance; 55 per cent of the aged population have some kind of private health insurance. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has estimated that, by 1965, 70 per cent of the aged will have some private health insurance.

The problem of medical and hospital care for the aged can best be met through existing law, including the Kerr-Mills bill, which takes care of the "near-needy," and through the channels of private insurance. Let us not forget that the government has failed in every business operation it has started.

The enactment of the Kennedy proposal means government medicine. If government funds are spent to provide hospital and related medical care, the Congress must give directions as to how that money will be spent. There will be rules and regulations. There will be contracts with hospitals and doctors. I am not unaware that some of its proponents deny it is socialized medicine. When it comes to socialism, I would say that the Socialist Party of America could qualify as an expert on that subject and the party has termed it socialized medicine . . .

As I previously stated, the enactment of the Kennedy proposal now before Congress will mean a poorer quality of medical service not only for our aged, but for all of our citizens. History is on our side in this argument.

EVERY COUNTRY of Europe has some sort of government medicine. Let's see what has happened. Europe no longer leads the world in medical science, yet 30 years ago medical students from this country and from all over the world traveled to Europe for advanced medical education. They no longer go to Europe. They come to the United States because our private practice of medicine means better medical education and better medical care.

When Great Britain adopted their program of government medicine in 1948, they had one doctor for 877 people. Britain's government medicine caused such a deterioration in the practice of medicine that ten years later they had one doctor for every 1,149 people. Here in the United States, in spite of our population explosion, the ratio of physicians to patients remains steady, about one for every 750 people.

Before the United States embarks upon any program that costs a billion dollars the first year, let us brush away all emotion and prejudice and look at the facts. I am convinced that a careful gathering and study of the facts will show the King-Anderson proposal to be unwise and not in the best interest of our citizens, either those over 65 or those under 65.

If it is heresy to say I believe in the competence, the integrity and the skill of my family doctor, my family druggist, my dentist and my insurance agent, let it be heresy. I want our system to continue to make advances in saving lives, relieving pain and suffering, and adding to the length of life in the future as it has in the past.

The voluntary way—the American way—is the progressive, proven way that means continued success.

Let us go forward, not backward.

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